A

# REMONSTRANCE

OF THE

# STATE

OF THE

# KINGDOME

OF

# ENGLAND.

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*Die Mercurii* 15. *Decemb.* 1641.

It is this day reſolved upon the Queſtion, by the Houſe of COMMONS, That Order ſhall be now given for the printing of this *Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome.*

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*H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

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# THE REMONSTRANCE.

THe Gommons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, having with much earneſtneſſe, and faithfulneſſe of affection, and zeal to the publick good of this Kingdome, and His Majeſties honour and ſervice, for the ſpace of twelve months, wraſtled with the great dangers and feares, the preſſing miſeries and calamities, the various diſtempers and diſorders, which had not only aſſaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguiſht the liberty, peace, and proſperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all His Majeſties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation, and ſtrength of his owne Royall Throne: Doe yet finde an abounding malignity, and oppoſition in thoſe parties, and factions, who have beene the cauſe of thoſe evils, and doe ſtill labour to caſt aſperſions upon that which hath beene done, and to raiſe many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remaines yet undone, and to foment Jealouſies betwixt the King, and the Parliament: That ſo they may deprive him, and his people, of the fruit of his own Gratious Intentions, and their humble deſires of procuring the publick peace, ſafety, and happineſſe of this Realme. For the preventing of thoſe miſerable effects, which ſuch malitious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare,

1. The Root and the growth of theſe miſchievous deſignes.
2. The Maturity and Ripeneſſe, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.
3. The effectuall means which have been uſed for the extirpations of thoſe dangerous evils, and the progreſſe which hath therein been made by His Majeſties goodneſſe, and the wiſedome of the Parliament.

4. The wayes of obſtruction, and oppoſition, by which that Progreſſe hath been interrupted.

5. The courſes to be taken for the removing thoſe obſtacles, and for the accomplishing of our moſt dutifull and faithfull intentions and endeavours, of reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the Ancient honour, greatneſſe and ſecurity of this Crowne and Nation. The root of all this miſchief, we finde to be a malignant and pernicious deſigne of ſubverting the fundamental Laws, and principles of Government, upon which the Religion, and Juſtice of this Kingdom, are firmly eſtabliſht. The Actors and Promoters hereof have beene,

1. The Jeſuited papiſts, who hate the Laws, as Obſtacles of that change and ſubverſion of Religion, which they ſo much long for.

2. The Biſhops, and the corrupt part of the Clergie, who cheriſh formality and ſuperſtition, as the naturall effects and more probable ſupports of their own Eccleſiaſticall Tyranny, & Uſurpation.

3. Such counſellers and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themſelves, to further the intereſts of ſome forraigne Princes, or States, to the prejudice of his Majeſty and the State at home.

The common Principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular Councells and Actions, were theſe:

1. To maintain continuall differences, and diſcontents betwixt the King, and the People, upon Queſtions of Prerogative, and liberty, that ſo they might have the advantage of ſiding with him, and under the notions of men addicted to his ſervice gain to themſelves and their parties, the places of greateſt truſt and power in the kingdome.

2. To ſuppreſſe the purity and power of Religion, and ſuch as were beſt affected to it: as being contrary to their owne ends, and the greateſt impediment to that change, which they thought to introduce.

3. To conjoyne thoſe parties of the Kingdome, which were moſt propitious to their owne ends, and to divide thoſe who were moſt oppoſite. which conſiſted in many particular obſervations: to cheriſh the arminian part in thoſe points wherein they agree with the papiſts: to multiply & enlarge the difference twixt the cómon proteſtants & thoſe whom they cal puritans: to introdnce & countenance

tenance ſuch opinions and ceremonies, as are fitteſt for accommodation with Popery, to encreaſe and maintain ignorance, looſeneſſe, and prophaneneſſe in the people: That of thoſe three parties, Papiſts, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compoſe a body fit to act ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions, as were moſt conducible to their own ends.

A Fourth, To diſaffect the King to Parliaments by ſlanders, and falſe imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of ſupply, which in ſhew and appearance were fuller of advantage, then the ordinary courſe of Subſidies, though in truth they brought more loſſe then gain, both to the King and people, and have cauſed the great diſtractions, under which we both ſuffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element, So in this mixt party, the Jeſuited Councels being moſt active, and prevailing, may eaſily be diſcovered to have had the greateſt ſway in all their determinations: and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the reſt, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of His Majeſties reign, the party begun to revive and flouriſh again, having been ſomewhat dampt by the breach with Spain in the laſt yeare of King James: and by His Majeſties marriage with France, the intereſts and Councels of that State, being not ſo contrary to the good of Religion, and the proſperity of this Kingdome, as thoſe of Spain, and the Papiſts of England having been ever more addicted to Spain, then France, yet they ſtill retained a purpoſe, and reſolution to weaken the Proteſtant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The firſt effect and evidence of their recovery and ſtrength was, the diſſolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two Subſidies to His Majeſty: and before they received relief in any one Grievance, many other more miſerable effects followed.

The loſſe of the Rochel Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, ſet forth and delivered over to the French, in oppoſition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Town without defence by

Sea, and made way not only to the loſſe of that important place, but likewiſe to the loſſe of all the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion in France.

The diverting of His Majeſties courſe of warres from the Weſt-Indies, which was the moſt facile and hopefull way for this Kingdome to prevail againſt the Spaniard, to an expenſefull and ſucceſleſſe attempt upon Cales, which was ſo ordered, as if it had rather been intented to make us weary of Warre, then to proſper in it.

The precipitate breach with France by taking their ſhips to a great value, without making recompence to the Engliſh, whoſe goods were thereupon imbar'd, and confiſcate in that Kingdome.

The peace with Spain without conſent of Parliament, contrary to the promiſe of King James to both Houſes: whereby the Palatine Cauſe was diſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſſe Treaties, which (for the moſt part) were managed by thoſe, who might juſtly be ſuſpected to be no friends to that Cauſe.

The charging of the Kingdome with Billetted Souldiers in all parts of it, and that Concomitant deſigne of Germane horſe, that the Land might either ſubmit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions, as ſhould be required of them.

The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond yeare of His Majeſties raign, after a declaration of their intent, to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subſidies after the Parliament diſſolved, by Commiſſion of Loan: and divers Gentlemen and others impriſoned for not yeelding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted ſuch ſickneſſes, as coſt them their lives. Great ſummes of Money required, and raiſed by Privie Seals. An unjuſt and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject, by way of Exciſe: and a Commiſſion iſſued under Seal to that purpoſe. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blaſted with an illegall Declaration, to make it deſtructive to it ſelfe, to the power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpoſe printed with it: and the Petition made of no uſe, but to ſhew the bold and preſumptuous injuſtice of ſuch Miniſters as durſt breake the

Laws

Laws, and ſuppreſſe the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been ſo ſolemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament diſſolved, 4. *Car.* the Priviledge of Parliament broken, by impriſoning divers Members of the Houſe, detaining them cloſe Priſoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of uſing Books, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preſervation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of their ſickneſſe. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after yeeres ſpent in ſuch miſerable durance, depriving them of the neceſſary meanes of Spirituall conſolation, not ſuffering them to go abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods Houſe, or Gods Miniſters to come to them, to adminiſter comfort unto them in their private chambers: and to keep them ſtill in this oppreſſed condition, not admitting them to be bayled according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour courts, ſentencing and fining ſome of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of thoſe Fines from them, enforcing others to put in ſecurity of good behaviour, before they could be releaſed.

The impriſonment of the reſt which refuſed to be bound, ſtill continued, which might have been perpetuall, if neceſſity had not the laſt yeare brought another Parliament to relieve them, of whom, one died by the cruelty and harſhneſſe of his impriſonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of his life, did ſufficiently appeare by the declaration of his Phyſician: And his releaſe, or at leſt his refreſhment, was ſought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud ſtill cries either for vengeance, or repentance of thoſe Miniſters of State, who have at once obſtructed the courſe, both of his Majeſties Juſtice and Mercy.

Upon the diſſolution of both theſe Parliaments, untrue and ſcandalous declarations were publiſhed, to aſperſe their proceedings, and ſome of their Members, unjuſtly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was uſed againſt them: Proclamations ſet out to the ſame purpoſe: and to the great dejecting of the harts of the people, forbidding them even to ſpeak of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth year of His

Majeſty, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any reſtraint or moderation: and yet the firſt project, was the great ſummes exacted through the whole Kingdome, for default of Knighthood, which ſeemed to have ſome colour and ſhadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obſolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the rules of Juſtice, both in reſpect of the perſons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law: many other heavie impoſitions continued againſt Law, and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the ſumme of the charge exceeds the value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanſed to a high proportion: and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegall and unreaſonable payments, were vexed & oppreſſed above meaſure, and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of England, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-money was deviſed, upon the ſame pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject neer 700000 l. ſome yeares: and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the violence of the Turkiſh Pyrats, that many great Ships of value, and thouſands of His Majeſties Subjects have been taken by them, and do ſtill remain in miſerable ſlavery.

The enlargement of Forreſts, contrary to *Carta de Foreſta*, and the compoſition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands of divers Counties. The deſperate deſign of engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of London, and ſetting ſo high a Rate upon it, that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licence, thereby to leave the ſeverall parts of the Kingdome deſtitute of their neceſſary defence: and by ſelling ſo dear that which was ſold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject. The generall deſtruction of the Kings Timber, eſpecially that in the Forreſt of Dean, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe of this Kingdom, for the maintainance of our Shipping. The taking

king away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land, between high and low Water-Marks. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coale, and in a manner, of all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe. The reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their Habitation, Trades, and other Intereſt. Their vexation aud oppreſſion by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peeter-men. The ſale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, Converſion of Arable into Paſture, continuance of Paſture, under the name of depopulation, have drawn many millions out of the Subjects Purſes, without any conſiderable profit to his Majeſty. Large quantities of Common, and ſeverall Grounds, have been taken from the Subject by colour of the Statute of improvement, and by abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their conſent, and againſt it. And not only private Intereſt, but alſo publike faith hath been broken, in ſeizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint: and the whole Kingdome like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable project of Braſſe Money. Great numbers of his Majeſties Subjects, for refuſing thoſe unlawfull charges, have been vext with long and expenſive ſuits, ſome fined and cenſured, others committed to long and hard impriſonments and confinements, to the loſſe of health of many, of life in ſome, and others have had their houſes broken up, their goods ſeized, ſome have been reſtrained from their lawfull Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, ſurprized at Sea in an Hoſtile manner, by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in ſuch Ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to thoſe places which were moſt for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant cenſures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes, but for divers other Cauſes, where there hath been no offence, or very ſmall, whereby his Majeſties Subjects have been oppreſſed by grievous Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Baniſhments, after ſo rigid a maner, as hath not only deprived men of the ſociety of their friends, exerciſe of their profeſſions, comfort of Books, uſe of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neer Union which God hath eſtabliſht betwixt men and their wives, by forced

and constrained seperation: whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another, for many yeeres together, without hope of relief, if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power, and counsell of those, who were the Authors and Promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

Judges have been put out of their places for refusing to do against their Oaths and Consciences: Others have been so awed, that they durst not do their duties: and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clause *quam diu se bene gesserint* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause *Durante bene placito* inserted. Lawyers have been checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients: Solicitors and Atturneyes have been threatned, and some punished for following lawfull Suites: And by this meanes all the approaches to Justice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have been forced upon the Subject against Law: new Judicatories erected without Law: The Councell Table have by their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their free-holds, Estates, Suites, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earle Marshal was Arbitrary, and illegall in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts have been grievous, in exceeding their Jurisdiction. The estate of many Families weakned, and some ruined by excessive Fines, exacted from them for Compositions of Wardships. All Leases of above a hundred yeares, made to draw on Wardship contrary to Law. Undue proceedings used in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-Law Courts, seeing all men more inclined to seeke Justice there, where it may be fitted to their owne desire, are known frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common-Law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity to do Injustice. Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeantships at Law, and other Offices have been sold for great summes of money: whereby the common Justice of the Kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great Trust, and advantage to Men of weake parts: but also by giving occasion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality: It seldome hapning that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions

missions have been granted for examining the excesse of Fees: and when great exactions have been discovered, Compositions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending, for the time to come: which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed, and encreased the Grievance to the Subject. The usuall course of pricking Sheriffs, not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way: sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them: sometimes such were pricked out, as would be Instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painfull, learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majesties good Subjects. The High-Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severity, as was not much lesse then the Romish Inquisition: and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavie, being assisted, and strengthned by authority of the Councell-Table.

The Bishops, and their Courts, were as eager in the Country: and although their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigor, and extremity of punishment, yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generality, and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of Tradesmen, and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdome, some into New-England, and other parts of America: others into Holland, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloath, which is not only a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdome, but a great mischief, by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentifull Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were fittest for Ecclesiasticall preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in railing against godlinesse, and honesty.

The most publike and solemn Sermons before His Majestie were, either to advance Prerogative above Law, and Decry the property of the Subject, or full of such kinde of invectives: whereby they might make those odious, who sought to maintain the Religion,

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ligion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other imployments of power in the Government of the Countrey. Many noble Personages were Councellors in name, but the power and authority remained in a few of such, as were most addicted to this partie: whose resolutions and determinations were brought to the Table, for countenance, and execution, and not for debate, and deliberation: and no Man could offer to oppose them without disgrace, and hazard to himselfe: Nay, all those that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes, though otherwise persons of never so great Honour and Abilities, were so farre from being employed in any place of trust, and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed. This faction was grown to that height, and entirenesse of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which consisted of these three parts.

1. The government must be set free from all restraint of Laws, concerning our Persons and States.

2. There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies, only it must not yet be called Popery.

3. The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintain Religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the Kingdome with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Popish superstitions, and innovations, as might make them apt to joyn with England, in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgy were prest upon them, and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergy, and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Army for their defence, and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloudy encounter, His Majesties own Gracious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobility, and Dutifull submission of the Scots, did so farre prevail against the evill Councell of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majesty returned with Peace, and much honour to London.

The

The unexpected reconciliation was moſt acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant partie, whereof the Arch-Biſhop and the Earle of Strafford being heads, they and their faction begun to enveigh againſt the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States: which ſo incenſed his Majeſtie, that he forthwith prepared againe for warre. And ſuch was their confidence, that having corrupted and diſtempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the onely meanes to reſtore all to a right frame and temper againe: to which end they perſwaded His Majeſty to call a Parliament, not to ſeeke counſell and advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and ingage the whole Kingdome in their Quarrell: and in the meane time, continued all their unjuſt Levies of money, reſolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to eſtabliſh miſchiefe by a Law, or elſe to breake it: and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could obtaine by conſent. The ground alledged for the juſtification of this War was this:

That the undutifull Demands of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, was a ſufficient reaſon for his Majeſty to take Armes againſt them, without hearing the Reaſon of thoſe Demands: And thereupon a new Army was prepared againſt them, their Ships were ſeized in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected, their Commiſſioners refuſed Audience. This whole Kingdome moſt miſerably diſtempered with Levies of Men and mony, and Impriſonments of thoſe who denied to ſubmit to thoſe Levies. The Earle of Strafford paſt into Ireland, cauſed the Parliament there to declare againſt the Scots, to give foure Subſidies towards that Warre, and to ingage themſelves, their lives and fortunes for the proſecution of it, and gave directions for an Army of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe to be levied there, which were for the moſt part Papiſts. The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of Aprill, one thouſand ſix hundred and fourty. The Earle of Strafford, and Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, with

their party ſo prevailed with his Majeſty, that the Houſe of Commons was preſt to yeeld to a ſupply for maintenance of the warre with Scotland, before they had provided any reliefe for the great and preſſing grievances of the people; which being againſt the fundamentall priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble reſpect to his Majeſtie ſo farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of ſupply into conſideration, and two ſeverall daies it was debated. Twelve Subſidies were demanded for the releaſe of Ship-money alone: a third day was appointed for concluſion, when the Heads of that party began to feare, the people might cloſe with the King in ſatisfying his deſire of Money; but that withall they were like to blaſt their malicious deſigns againſt Scotland, finding them very much indiſpoſed to give any countenance to that war.

Thereupon they wickedly adviſed the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the wayes of confuſion: in which their own evill intentions were moſt like to proſper and ſucceed.

After the Parliament ended, the fifth of May one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, this partie grew ſo bold, as to counſell the King to ſupply himſelfe out of his Subjects eſtates, by his owne power, at his own will, without their conſent. The very next day, ſome Members of both Houſes had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets ſearched: another of them not long after was committed cloſe priſoner, for not delivering ſome Petitions which he received by authority of that Houſe: and if harſher courſes were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the ſickneſſe of the Earle of Strafford, and the tumultuous riſing in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the cauſes that ſuch violent intentions were not brought to execution. A falſe and ſcandalous Declaration againſt the Houſe of Commons was publiſhed in his Majeſties name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifeſt the impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the Citie of London.

The

The Lord Maior and Aldermen in their ſeverall Wards enjoined to bring in a liſt of the names of ſuch perſons as they judged fit to lend, and of the ſumme they ſhould lend. And ſuch Aldermen as refuſed ſo to doe, were committed to priſon.

The Archbiſhop and the other Biſhops and clergie continued the convocation, and by a new commiſſion turned it to a Provinciall Synod, in which, by an unheard-of preſumption, they made canons that containe in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, to the right of Parliaments, to the property and liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence, thereby eſtabliſhing their own uſurpations, juſtifying their Altar-worſhip, and thoſe other ſuperſtitious Innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

They impoſed a new Oath upon divers of his Majeſties Subjects, both Eccleſiaſticall and Lay, for maintenance of their own Tyranny, and laid a great Tax upon the Clergie for ſupply of his Majeſtie: and generally they ſhewed themſelves very affectionate to the warre with Scotland, which was by ſome of them ſtiled *Bellum Epiſcopale*, and a Prayer compoſed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches, calling the Scots, Rebels, to put the two Nations into bloud, and make them irreconcileable. All thoſe pretended canons & conſtitutions were armed with the ſeveral cenſures of Suſpenſion, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thruſt out all the good Miniſters, and moſt of the well-affected people of the Kingdome, and left an eaſie paſſage to their owne deſigne of reconciliation with Rome. The Popiſh party enjoyned ſuch exemptions from the Penall Lawes, as amounted to a Toleration, beſides many other encouragements, and court favours. They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windebanke*, a powerful Agent for the ſpeeding of all their deſires, a Popes Nuntio reſiding here to act and governe them according to ſuch influences as he received from Rome, and to intercede

for them with the moſt powerfull concurrence of the forraigne Princes of that Religion: By his authority the Papiſts of all ſorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergie were convocated, after the manner of a Parliament: new Juriſdictions were erected of Romiſh Archbiſhops, taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independent in Government, contrary in intereſt and affection, ſecretly corrupting the ignorant, or negligent profeſſors of our Religion, and cloſely uniting and combining themſelves againſt ſuch as were ſound, in this poſtute waiting for an opportunitie by force to deſtroy thoſe whom they could not hope to ſeduce. For the effecting whereof, they were ſtrengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by ſuperſtitious Prayers, enjoyned by the Nuntio to be weekly made for the proſperity of ſome great deſigne. And ſuch power had they at Court, that ſecretly a Commiſſion was iſſued out, intended to be iſſued to ſome great Men of that profeſſion for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and imploy them according to private Inſtructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of thoſe who were the contrivers of them: His Majeſties Treaſure was conſumed, his Revenue anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great ſummes of Money, Multitudes were called to the Councell Table, who were tired with long attendances there, for refuſing illegal payments. The priſons were filled with their Commitments: Many of the Sheriffes ſummoned into the Starre Chamber, and ſome impriſoned for not being quicke enough in levying the Ship-Money: The people languiſhed under griefe and feare, no viſible hope being left, but in deſperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their ſilence, and patience, and ſenſible of the duty and truſt which belongs to them: and thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent of them did petition his Majeſty at ſuch a time when evill Councels were ſo ſtrong, that they had reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves, then redreſſe of thoſe publike evils for which they interceded. Whilſt the Kingdome was in this agitation and diſtemper, the Scots reſtrained in their trades, impoveriſhed by the loſſe of many of their Ships, bereaved of all poſſibilitie of ſatisfying His Majeſtie

Majeſtie by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdome, and without any hoſtile Act or ſpoil in the Countrey as they paſſed, more then forcing a paſſage over the Tyne at Newborne, neer Newcaſtle, poſſeſſed themſelves of Newcaſtle, and had a fair opportunitie to preſſe on further upon the Kings Armie: but dutie and reverence to his Majeſtie, and brotherly love to the Engliſh Nation, made them ſtay there, whereby the King had leaſure to entertain better Councels: wherein God ſo bleſſed and directed him, that he ſummoned the great Councell of Peers to meet at Yorke, upon the twentie fourth of September, and there declared a Parliament to begin the third of November then following. The Scots the firſt day of the great Councell, preſented an humble Petition to his Majeſtie, whereupon the Treatie was appointed at Rippon. A preſent Ceſſation of Armes agreed upon: and the full Concluſion of all differences referred to the wiſedome and care of the Parliament. At our firſt meeting, all Oppoſitions ſeemed to vaniſh, the miſchiefes were ſo evident, which thoſe evill Councellors produced, that no man durſt ſtand up to defend them. Yet the work it ſelfe afforded difficultie enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of ſixteen yeeres ſtrengthened by cuſtome and authoritie, and the concurrent intereſt of many powerfull delinquents were now to be brought to judgement and Reformation. The Kings houſhold was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not ſupply his ordinarie, and neceſſarie expences, without the aſſiſtance of his people. Two Armies were to be payed which amounted very neer to 80. thouſand pounds a moneth: the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhauſted with many burthenſome Projects. The difficulties ſeemed to be inſuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great meaſure we have reconciled. Six Subſidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if it be duly levied, may equall ſix Subſidies more, in all ſix hundred thouſand pounds: Beſides we

have contracted a Debt to the Scots of 220. thouſand pounds: and yet God hath ſo bleſſed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all theſe charges. The Ship-money is aboliſhed, which coſt the kingdome above 200. thouſand pounds a yeer. The coat and Conduct money, and other militarie charges, are taken away, which in many Countreys amounted to little leſſe then the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all ſuppreſt, whereof ſome few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yeerly. The Soap an hundred thouſand pounds: the Wine three hundred thouſand pounds: the Leather muſt needs exceed both: and Salt could be no leſſe then that: beſides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great ſumme. That which is more beneficiall then all this is, that the root of theſe evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to be in his Majeſtie, of taxing the Subject, or charging their eſtates without conſent in Parliament, which is now declared to be againſt Law, by the judgement of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an Act of Parliament. Another ſtep of great advantage is this, the living Grievances, the evil Councellors and Actors of theſe miſchiefs have been ſo quelled, by the juſtice done upon the Earl of Strafford, the flight of the Lord Finch, & Secretary Windebank, the accuſation and impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of Judge Bartlet, and the impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges, that it is like not onely to be an eaſe to the preſent times, but a preſervation to the future. The diſcontinuance of Parliament is prevented by the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and the abrupt diſſolution of this Parliament by another Bill: by which it is provided, it ſhall not be diſſolved or adjourned without the conſent of both Houſes. Which two Laws well conſidered, may be thought more advantagious then all the former, becauſe they ſecure a full operation of the preſent remedie, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future: The Star-Chamber, the High Commiſſion, the Courts of the Preſident, and Councell in the North, were ſo many

forges

forges of miſerie, oppreſſion, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more ſecured in their perſons, liberties, and eſtates, then they could be by any Law or Example for the regulation of thoſe Courts, or Terror of the Judges: The immoderate power of the Councell Table, and the exceſſive abuſe of that power is ſo ordered and reſtrained, that we may well hope that no ſuch things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publique libertie, will appear in future times, but onely in Stories, to give us and our poſterity more occaſion to praiſe God for his Majeſties goodneſſe, and the faithfull indeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon making, are blaſted by the Vote of both Houſes. The exorbitant power of Biſhops, and their Courts, are much abated, by ſome Proviſions in the Bill againſt the High Commiſſion Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and ceremonies: The Miniſters that have been ſcandalous in their lives, have been ſo terrified in juſt complaints and accuſations, that we may well hope they will be more modeſt for the time to come: either inwardly convicted by the ſight of their owne folly, or outwardly reſtrained by the fear of Puniſhment: The Forreſts are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds, the encroachments and oppreſſions of the Stannarie courts: The Extortions of the Clerk of the Market, and the compulſion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knight-hood againſt his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of thoſe Fines, are by other beneficiall Laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent Laws and proviſions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and uſurpation of Biſhops, for reforming the pride and idleneſſe of many of the Clergie, for eaſing the people of unneceſſary ceremonies in Religion, for cenſuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Miniſters, and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdome. Other things of maine importance for the good of this Kingdome are in propoſition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the

the many other more preſſing buſineſſes, which yet before the end of this Seſſion, we hope may receive ſome progreſſe and perfection. The eſtabliſhing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that ſo the abuſe of Officers, and ſuperfluity of expences may be cut of, and the neceſſary disburſments for his Majeſties Honour, the defence and governement of the Kingdome, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the delayes and charges of Law-Suites, The ſetling of ſome good courſes of preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increaſe of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdome may be increaſed, or at leaſt kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many yeares laſt paſt. For improving the Herring fiſhing, upon our owne Coaſts, which will be of mighty uſe in the imployment of the poore, and a plentifull Nurſery of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppoſitions, obſtructions and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encountred, and which ſtill lie in our way with ſome ſtrength and much obſtinacie, are theſe: The malignant Partie whom we have formerly deſcribed, to be the Actors and promoters of all our miſery, they have taken heart again: They have been able to preferre ſome of their owne Factors and Agents to degrees of Honour, to places of truſt and imployment even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to worke in his Majeſty ill impreſſions and opinions of Our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our owne work, and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudiciall to the Crowne, both in reſpect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this ſlander, Wee think good only to ſay thus much: That all that Wee have done, is for His Majeſty, His greatneſſe, Honour, and Support, when Wee yeeld to give twenty five thouſand pound a moneth for the reliefe of the Northern Countreyes,

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this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his ſubjects, they were his Majeſties evill Counſellers, and their ill inſtruments were the actors in thoſe grievances which brought in the Scots: and if his Majeſty pleaſe to force thoſe who were the authors of this warre to make ſatisfaction, as he might juſtly and eaſily doe, it ſeemes very reaſonable that the people might well be excuſed from taking upon them this burden, being altogether innocent, and free from being any cauſes of it.

When wee undertooke the charge of the army, which coſt above 50000, pound a moneth, was not this given to the King? was it not his Majeſties army? were not all the Commanders under contract with his Majeſty at higher rates and greater wages then ordinary? and have not wee taken upon us to diſcharge all the brotherly aſſiſtance of three hundred thouſand pounds which wee gave the Scots? was it not toward repaire of thoſe dammages and loſſes which they received from the Kings ſhips, and from his miniſters? Theſe three particulars amount to above 1100. thouſand pound, beſides his Majeſtie hath received by impoſitions upon merchandiſe at leaſt 400. thouſand pounds: ſo that his Majeſty hath had out of the ſubjects purſe ſince the Parliament began, one million and halfe: and yet theſe men can be ſo impudent, as to tell his Majeſty, that wee have done nothing for him. As to the ſecond branch of this ſlander, wee acknowledge with much thankfulneſſe, that his Majeſty hath paſſed more good Bills to the advantage of the ſubjects then have beene in many ages: but withall wee cannot forget, that theſe venemous counſels did manifeſt themſelves in ſome endeavours to hinder theſe good Acts: and for both Houſes of Parliament, wee may with truth and modeſty ſay thus much, That wee have ever beene carefull not to deſire any thing that ſhould weaken the Crowne, either in juſt profit or uſefull power. The triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to ſo much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes ſtill in force for a Parliament to be once a yeare: and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, that it ſhall never take effect, if he by a timely ſummons

ſhall prevent any other way of aſſembling. In the Bill for continuance of this preſent Parliament, there ſeemes to be ſome reſtraint of the royall power in diſſolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the crowne, but to ſuſpend the execution of it for this time and occaſion onely, which was ſo neceſſary for the Kings owne ſecurity, and the publique peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of theſe great charges, but muſt have left both the armies to diſorder and confuſion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapine. The Starre-chamber was much more fruitfull in oppreſſion then in profit, the great fines being for the moſt part given away, and the reſt ſtalled at long times. The fines of the high Commiſſion were in themſelves unjuſt, and ſeldome or never came into the Kings purſe. Theſe foure Bils are particularly and more ſpecially inſtanced, in the reſt there will not be found ſo much as a ſhadow of prejudice to the Crowne. They have ſought to diminiſh our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aſperſions which they have attempted this way, have been ſuch as theſe: That we have ſpent much time and done little, eſpecially in thoſe grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burden to the Kingdome by the abundance of Protections which hinder Juſtice and Trade, and by many Subſidies granted, much more heavie then any they formerly endured: To which there is a ready anſwer: if the time ſpent in this Parliament be conſidered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of thoſe grievances, which we have removed, to the powerfull upports of thoſe delinquents which we have purſued, to the great neceſſities and other charges of the Common wealth for which we have provided: or if it be conſidered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the preſent, but future ages are like to reap by the good lawes and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgements, that our time hath been much better imployed then in a farre greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together: and the charges which have beene laid upon the Subject, and the other incon-

inconveniences which they have borne, will ſeem very light in reſpect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is ſo ſenſible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatſoever eaſe may ſtand with Honour and Juſtice: and are in a way of paſſing a Bill to give them ſatisfaction. They have ſought by many ſubtile practices to cauſe jealouſies and diviſions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by ſlandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by ſecret indeavours to inſtigate and incenſe them and us one againſt another. They have had ſuch a party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords, in the houſe of Peeres, as hath cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bils paſſed in the Commons houſe, concerning the reformation of ſundry great abuſes and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to ſeduce and corrupt ſome of the Commons Houſe, to draw them into conſpiracies and combinations againſt the liberty of the Parliament: And by their inſtruments and agents they have attempted to diſaffect and diſcontent his Majeſties Army, and to ingage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous deſignes, the keeping up of Biſhops in votes and functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit and diſpoſe their proceedings in ſuch manner as might beſt concurre with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And when one miſchievous deſigne and attempt of theirs, to bring on the Army againſt the Parliament, and the City of London, had been diſcovered and prevented, they preſently undertooke another of the ſame damnable nature, with this addition to it, to indeavour to make the Scottiſh Army neutrall, whilſt the Engliſh Army which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome againſt us by their falſe and ſlanderous ſuggeſtions, ſhould execute their malice to the ſubverſion of our Religion, and the diſſolution of our government. Thus they have been continually practiſing to diſturbe the Peace, and plotting the deſtruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their emiſſaries and agents in them all for the promoting of their divelliſh deſignes, which the vigilancy of

those who were well affected hath still discovered, and defeated before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland: only in Ireland which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their worke, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out religion, and destroyed all the protestants whom the conscience of their duety to God, their King and Countrey, would not have permitted to joyne with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their maine enterprise upon the City and Castle of Dublin had not beene detected and prevented upon the very eave before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding, they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into open rebellion, surprising Townes and Castles, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies, and shaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majesty, and the lawes of the Realme: and in generall, have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing upon the wisedome and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land, discovered and confounded their former designes, wee had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in Ireland, and had by this time beene made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our subsistence, and power of reformation is under him, in the Parliament? but what can we the Commons without the conjunction of the House of Lords? and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to crosse and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings? They infuse into the people, that we meane to abolish all Church-government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiasticall law as well as with the temporall, to regulate all the members of the

the Church of England by ſuch rules of order and diſcipline, as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament, which is his great Councell, in all affaires both in Church and State. We confeſſe our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have aſſumed unto themſelves, ſo contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Lawes of the Land: to which end, we paſt the Bill for the removing them from their temporall power and employments, that ſo the better they might with meekneſſe apply themſelves to the diſcharge of their functions: which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principall inſtruments of croſſing it.

And we doe here declare, That it is farre from our purpoſe or deſire, to let looſe the golden reines of diſcipline, and government in the Church, to leave private perſons or particular Congregations to take up what forme of divine Service they pleaſe: for we hold it requiſite, that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realm a conformity to that order which the Lawes enjoyne, according to the word of God: and we deſire to unburthen the conſciences of men of needleſſe and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſſe Innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we deſire there may be a generall Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from forraine parts, profeſſing the ſame religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their conſultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of, and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of authority, thereby to finde paſſage and obedience throughout the Kingdome. They have maliciouſly charged us, that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefeſt care and deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certaine meanes whereby the want, meanneſſe, and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject, will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reform and purge

the fountains of learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be cleere and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people, that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy hath caused sectaries and conventicles, when idolatry and popish ceremonies, introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops, have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdome. Thus with *Eliah* we are called by this malignant party, the troublers of the State: and still while we endevour to reforme their abuses, they make us the Authours of those mischiefes we study to prevent: for the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectuall, seeing the religion of the Papists hath such principles as doe certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place, to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to doe us any hurt: and for avoyding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them, That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due meanes by execution of the Lawes to prevent any mischievous designes, against the peace and safety of this Kingdome. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of papists to the Church: by colour wherof, persons very much disaffected to the true Religion, have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdome.

For the better preservation of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions and Assizes: and that Judges and Justices be carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Justices to be sworn to the due execution of the petition of right and other Lawes: That His Majestie

Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Councellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers in manhaging his businesse at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his owne estate, nor such assistance to the protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Councellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proofe: there are others which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminall: to be a known favourer of papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament, or to speake contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are factours or agents for any forraine Prince of another religion, such are justly suspect to get Counsellors places, or any other of trust concerning publique imployment for money: For all these and divers others we may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty not to put his great affaires into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: That all Counsellors of State may be sworne to observe those Lawes which concerne the Subject in his liberty: That they may likewise take an oath not to receive or give reward or pension from any forraine Prince, but such as they within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of his Majesties Councell: and although they should wickedly forsweare themselves, yet it may herein doe good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who imploy them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us: That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsell and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himselfe, to see his owne estate setled in a plentifull condition, to support his honour, to see his people united in waies of duty to him, and endeavours of the publique good: to see happinesse, wealth, peace and safety derived to his owne Kingdome,

dome, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his owne power and government. That all good courſes may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland to be mutually ayding and aſſiſting one another for the common good of the Iſland, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongſt our ſelves for matters indifferent in their owne nature concerning Religion, and to unite our ſelves againſt the common enemies, which are the better inabled by our diviſions to deſtroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendſhip to unite the forraign Churches with us in the ſame cauſe, and to ſeek their liberty, ſafety, and proſperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wiſedome for our owne good. For by this meanes our own ſtrength ſhall be increaſed, and by a mutuall concurrence to the ſame common end, we ſhall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Proteſtant profeſſion. If theſe things may be obſerved, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with ſuch ſucceſſe, as ſhall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happineſſe to his Majeſty, then ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royall Predeceſſors.

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